

The LADIES' GARMENT WORKER



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BOOT and SHOE WORKERS' UNION

TWO-FORTYSIX SUMMER STREET : : BOSTON, MASS.

JOHN F. TOBIN, President CHAS. L. BAINE, Sec'y Treas.

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A NEW LIFE FOR THE CLEVELAND CLOAKMAKERS

The achievement of our International Union for the Cleveland cloak and skirt makers is one of the brightest in the history of our organization. This victory in Cleveland cannot be compared with any of our previous victories in or out of New York. Those victories have been great and splendid, indeed. The Cleveland victory is not greater or more splendid, yet it is great in a different sense. It has raised the prestige of our International Union in quite a different way.

True, the present time is very favorable for wage-earners, particularly for those who are employed in war industries. These industries must not stop producing, so as not to impede the progress of the war. The government has the power to prevent delay in production. But the greatness of our government consists in the fact that even though, owing to the state of war, the President has the power to compel this or that party to keep up production, or as it is called in military parlance, "draft," the workers to their necessary tasks, yet no force is used. The government works by moral influence. It investigates conditions and then prevails upon the parties at issue to compose their differences voluntarily or submit them to arbitration. The government has a ready system of conciliation, mediation and arbitration; namely, the National War Labor Board, which has already settled scores of the most difficult controversies throughout the country, and the workers concerned have greatly benefitted.

Our Cleveland strike, however, was not settled by the War Labor Board, but by the War Department. The matter was first submitted to the War Labor Board and the Board summoned both sides to a hearing. But while President Schlesinger, at the head of a committee of strikers, appeared promptly, the manufacturers failed to respond until the Board commanded them to obey the summons.

The Labor Department had sought to settle the dispute amicably, and Secretary of Labor Wilson had sent Mr. Faulkner, one of his mediators, to Cleveland for that purpose. The War Department on its part has been from the beginning interested in having the strike speedily settled. As already reported in last month's issue of the Ladies' Garment Worker, Professor Ripley, administrator of labor standards in army clothing, attached to the War Department, had been in Cleveland trying to bring both parties

together. But when the War Labor Board was about to act in the matter in a judicial manner, pursuant to its prescribed procedure, word came from the War Department that the Department had found a short cut to the settlement of the dispute and that the hearing should not be proceeded with.

* * *

For our union the settlement is of great significance because the Cleveland strike was no ordinary strike; the struggle was revived every year or so, and the special difficulties we have encountered in that city—the peculiar character of the manufacturers and the peculiar character of the workers—imparted to the strike, too, a peculiar character. It should be borne in mind that after every strike, whether in single shops or in several shops collectively, the workers grew despondent and lost hope that the union would ever succeed in breaking through the iron wall which was blocking the way to the upbuilding of a strong organization. But now this wall has been pierced in a manner which, in our opinion, makes it practically impossible to restore it to its former strength.

Naturally this depends on the workers themselves; and as a number of Cleveland cloak makers will be observing the approaching holy days, it is fitting to remind them of a text in the Scriptures.

Almost before his death Moses, the great teacher, said to the people of Israel that he was setting before them two ways: "life and good and death and evil," and they must choose which way to follow. The Cleveland cloak and skirt makers, similarly, have two ways before them—the old, false and submissive life in the shops and the new, free, proud union life, not only in the shops, but also in their homes, in the society of their fellow workers and everywhere, and they must choose which sort of life they will lead.

Considering the recent struggle we are certain that the Cleveland cloak makers will, for their own good, choose the free, proud union life. The settlement affords them every opportunity to place the trade and their union on just as good a foundation as that upon which rest the unions of the cloakmakers, waistmakers and dressmakers of New York, Philadelphia and other cities. The conditions of the settlement proposed to both parties by the Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, are as follows:

Washington, D. C., 2:44 P. M., Aug. 12, 1918.

Benjamin Schlesinger, President International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Hotel Statler, Cleveland, O.

The Secretary of War requests that you submit the issues in dispute between the Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Dress Manufacturers of Cleveland and their workers to one or more disinterested referees to be appointed by the Secretary of War, who shall investigate and adjudicate the issues involved upon the following conditions:

First, that before the referee or referees shall act, all men and women who are now on strike shall return to work and they shall be taken back without prejudice, except such as will be excluded by the referee or referees.

Second, that the manufacturers shall not be required to enter into any agreements with the Union of the workers, nor shall the Union be required to enter into any agreements with the Cleveland Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Dress

Manufacturers Association, but that the decisions of the said referee or referees be the working arrangements of both parties.

Third, that the referee or referees shall have no power to make any changes in the method of manufacture or prohibit new processes, but shall have power to investigate scales of wages paid by The Cleveland Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Dress Manufacturers and those paid by Cleveland concerns in kindred trades and by representative cloak, suit, skirt and dress manufacturers in other cities; and if the scales of wages in the Cleveland cloak, suit, skirt and dress factories in the light of this investigation be found to be inadequate, the referee or referees shall make such changes in the wage scales in the Cleveland cloak, suit, skirt and dress factories as in his or their judgment is deemed necessary, in order to enable the workers in the Cleveland shops to earn incomes equivalent to those earned by persons doing similar work.

Fourth, that the wages fixed by the referee or referees shall be for a period of not less than eight months.

Fifth, that any subsequent adjustments shall be made on the basis of changes in the cost of living.

Sixth, that the award made by the referee or referees shall date back to August 1, 1918.

Seventh, to the end that there shall be no interruption of work, the referee or referees in conjunction with the workers and manufacturers in this industry in Cleveland shall devise and recommend a plan for the creation of machinery for the adjustment of labor differences which may arise during the period of the war and six months thereafter, which plan shall be subject, however, to the limitation contained in paragraph number two, above.

Eighth, there shall be no strikes or lockouts.

Please wire me your willingness to submit the questions to arbitrators to be appointed by the Secretary of War upon the above terms and conditions.

(Signed) E. M. HOPKINS, Assistant to the Secretary of War.

It is not the first time that our union treads a new path in the relations of the organized workers and the organized manufacturers; for this settlement is novel in so far as no formal agreement was entered into between both parties. In our union circles one is accustomed to follow trodden paths. It is assumed that formality should be observed. An agreement must be signed. It must be drawn up in legal phrasing, stating that the employers recognize the union and pledge themselves to comply with certain conditions. How if, after all this formality, certain manufacturers go back upon their word, as often happens in all garment trades in general and in our industry in particular? What renders such a settlement better than the settlement just effected in Cleveland?

Every settlement should be not only on paper but real and substantial. The workers should enjoy the fruits of their victory. The Cleveland settlement is not a paper settlement but a real and substantial one. No wonder that the workers unanimously accepted the proposal of Secretary of War Baker immediately on the second day, August 13, at the meeting in B. of L. E. Auditorium. The workers feel secure in this settlement because behind it is the power and authority of the War Department. In the circumstances no formalities were required.

Let us for a moment review the points enumerated in the settlement.

First, all the strikers must be reinstated. It is provided that the referees may exclude some strikers from this privilege. But it is incredible that any striker has deserved such a punishment. There is no doubt that in this regard the referees will act with fairness and justice.

The second point provides that no agreement shall be made. But it contains a better provision than any formal agreement, which frequently has to be referred to impartial persons for interpretation. This provision runs that the decisions of the referees shall be the working arrangement between both parties. In view of the position of the referees, one may be sure that the decisions will carry more weight and be observed more scrupulously than a written agreement. The names of the referees are indicated in the following telegram from Secretary of War Baker to President Schlesinger:

Washington, D. C., 11:30 P. M., Aug. 12, 1918.

Benjamin Schlesinger,

President International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Hotel Statler, Cleveland, O.

I want to thank you on behalf of the Government for your co-operation in preventing any further interruption of work in the city of Cleveland and in submitting the dispute between the workers you represent and their employers to referees to be appointed by me. I have appointed as referees in this matter Dr. E. M. Hopkins as Chairman, Major Samuel J. Rosensohn and John R. McLane, who will hear and determine the issues in controversy on the terms and conditions set forth in your communication with me. I hope that the workers at their meeting will also accept my proposal in the same spirit of co-operation.

(Signed) NEWTON D. BAKER, Sec'y of War.

It might be asked: "But how is the union sure of its existence if no mention is made of a union shop and union conditions?"

The answer is that even where there is a formal agreement the scrap of paper itself does nothing. If the workers, through the power of their union, are not constantly on the alert the agreement has no practical value. The Cleveland cloakmakers can be assured of their union and their union conditions. They have it in their own power; and they may now exert their will without any fear. The old state of affairs is dead and buried. Discrimination for union activity, persecution and blacklisting are things of the past. These points are not mentioned in the conditions proposed by Secretary of War Baker, because it was not necessary. Our government has a definite labor policy, clearly set forth in the rules of procedure of the War Labor Board. One of the rules is that workers have a right to organize and the employers must not abridge or interfere with their right. Another rule is that government mediators or arbitrators must be guided by these rules, which were approved by President Wilson in a special proclamation.

The third provision relating to wages invests the referees with power to investigate the wages paid heretofore in the Cleveland cloak and skirt factories, and if they find the wages inadequate they must decide upon such increase as to make them equivalent to the wages earned by other workers in similar work.

This is a great victory for the Cleveland cloakmakers. In a report of an investigation in the Cleveland shops by Mr. Emmet, a well known statistician, sent by the Department of Labor, we find the following figure:

1. More than 60% of the male workers in the Cleveland women's garment factories earn \$800 or less per year.
2. Only 20% of the male workers in the Cleveland women's garment factories earn \$1,000 or more per year.
3. The rate of wages to women workers in the Cleveland women's garment factories is only \$10 a week for the first six months of their employment in the trade.

Considering these figures the workers may expect a satisfactory increase of wages; and paragraphs 4, 5, 6 provide that the present decision as to wages shall hold good for a period of eight months, from August 1, 1918, to April 1, 1919. Then further increases should be made in accordance with changes in the cost of living. No formal agreement could have a better provision as to wages.

Paragraph 7 eliminates the old system by which the firms had the sole voice and direction in all matters pertaining to labor conditions. The referees, together with the workers and the manufacturers, are required to elaborate a plan for a machinery to adjust disputes during the entire time of the war and six months after. That is the principle that the workers have a right to bargain collectively through committees and representatives. Thus autocratic domination in the shops comes to an end; and even though the word union is not mentioned in the paragraph, the workers as union people can carry out this provision in the union spirit.

An old saying runs: "Speech is not as important as action." The word union is not mentioned, but the union is not superseded. The union will not intervene directly, but indirectly it will influence the course of events; because the workers cannot dispense with the experienced and practical counsel of the union and its officers, unless they are deprived of their senses; but we do not believe that the Cleveland cloak and skirtmakers are such simpletons.

The Cleveland employers have for years accustomed themselves to think that the union is a bugbear to be avoided. It is very hard to get rid of one's own nonsensical prejudices and particularly of other people's prejudices. It was necessary to concede to the manufacturers the point that the union should not be formally mentioned. But the conditions won are practically 100 per cent. union conditions, and the Cleveland manufacturers realize the fact. The moderate and business-like action of our union, in the person of our President Schlesinger, will open the eyes of the manufacturers and they will come to see that they have cherished a false notion. We venture to predict that before very long the Cleveland manufacturers will, of their own accord, gradually establish relations with the union. The ice has been broken. A good start has been made.

As already alluded to above, the settlement is a novel departure in our union movement; it was not made according to accepted theories. There is, however, no doubt that it will work excellently well. Human life does not run in a fixed groove, and new times require new methods. For the

duration of the war and six months after it rests with the Cleveland cloak-makers to render their union 100 per cent. strong and fortified and equipped so that there shall be no doubt about their power and their will.

The gains represent all that the union requested, as the union requested no more than higher pay and a machinery for adjusting disputes. The very fact that low wages and exploitation in the shops will now end, is the biggest victory for our International Union and the beginning of a new, healthy life for the Cleveland cloak and skirtmakers.

MATTERS OF MOMENT BEFORE THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

At the end of last month the General Executive Board held its second quarterly meeting in Philadelphia. We regret that it was too late to insert a full report of the proceedings in this issue, and we must content ourselves with a few preliminary notes.

The meeting was prolonged for five days because various matters of moment had to be considered; and, as usual, interesting reports were heard. The report of President Schlesinger in regard to the Cleveland settlement imparted to the meeting a tenor of cheerful enthusiasm and bright hopes for the future. The feeling now prevails in every part of the organization throughout the country that our International Union has attained the very pinnacle of greatness. Manufacturers in every center of the ladies' garment industry will now take stock of the fact that if the big giants in Cleveland had to make peace with the union workers, less prominent employers in other places surely cannot stem the mighty onrushing tide of organization, and that the best thing they can do is to go with the stream. This was particularly felt by the International officers and vice-presidents assembled at this meeting.

The meeting adopted a series of decisions regarding immediate efforts of the International Union, first as to continued organizing work and second as to educational work and matters that will promote the good and welfare of the entire membership.

In regard to organizing work the workers in the waist, skirt, dress, kimono and white goods industry of Chicago, claim foremost attention. There was consensus of opinion at the meeting that the work begun in this industry last year must be completed, and it was decided to send organizers to Chicago immediately to prepare the field for the next season.

The ladies' garment trades in Canada in the two important centres, Montreal and Toronto, require special attention. In Toronto we have Vice-President Koldovsky, and in Montreal, Vice-President Lefkovits. There are in these two centres certain difficulties that must be overcome. In Montreal the French workers have to be organized and in Toronto there is the

old obstacle—Efon's shop, and a certain number of workers who are still outside of the union. The meeting felt that these two shortcomings must be speedily rectified, and our organization in Canada perfected.

The corset industry in the New England States and other places requires a certain amount of organizing work. Until now, the corset industry was only partly organized in some cities in New England, and the time has come to make a larger effort in this field. It was decided to appoint a general organizer for the corset industry in the New England States and launch an organizing campaign.

The raincoat industry has in recent years developed extensively. In certain cities the trade is better organized than ever before. But owing to this development of the trade a necessity has sprung up for complete organization and the meeting has decided to appoint a general organizer for the raincoat industry.

* * *

The educational question may be divided in two parts: the press and educational work generally. Properly speaking, the press and educational work should go hand in hand, for the trade press is recognized in the entire labor movement as one of the best educational mediums. Heretofore, this could not be done because the press was not united; but now, that the press of our International Union will soon be concentrated in one place, it is possible and also necessary, that both these departments should co-operate as far as possible and bring the educational work to a high degree of development.

All our locals now expect that the weekly paper to be published by the International Union in accordance with the decision of the last convention will soon make its appearance. The reason of the delay in carrying out the decision should be quite clear to all our members. This weekly paper must be put on a sound basis, and it requires time and effort to work out proper plans, so that the paper shall be a success and fulfill its mission; but the officers of the International Union have been occupied with other matters and could not proceed with the plans. The realization of this ideal is, however, fast approaching and we believe that the paper will soon make its appearance.

At the meeting of the General Executive Board in Philadelphia, President Schlesinger submitted a preliminary report as to the cost of the paper, and a committee was elected to continue working out the plans in consultation with President Schlesinger. The committee consists of Secretary Baroff and Vice-Presidents Rosenberg and Ninfo.

* * *

In regard to educational work the meeting decided to make a beginning forthwith. An energetic committee was elected, consisting of Vice-Presidents Fannia M. Cohn, Morris Sigman, S. Seidman, and H. Wander of New York, and A. Silver of Philadelphia. The committee has already held an initial meeting in the general office and dealt with certain practical

plans of carrying on the work during the coming winter with better results than last winter.

* * *

The General Executive Board has considered the question of the Union Sanitarium that will soon become a living reality. A suitable site has already been acquired, and the State Board of Health has granted a charter giving permission to build the sanitarium. Now, money is required to proceed with the work of building and equipment.

On another page in this issue the subject is dealt with at greater length. We also print the report of the Committee on Benefits and Sanitarium and the recommendation adopted unanimously by the convention that all members of the International Union should pay an assessment of one dollar per annum for this necessary and useful institution. At the Philadelphia meeting the General Executive Board has decided to appropriate a sum of \$12,000 for the purpose of building the sanitarium and to carry out the decision of the convention in regard to the assessment as soon as possible.

Another important decision connected with the sanitarium has reference to the introduction of a membership ledger department in the general office. The sanitarium will be a benefit to which any member of the International will be entitled; and as the International Union will control this benefit the general office must always have the information as to whether the applicant for sanitarium benefit is a member in good standing of his local and entitled to benefit according to our constitution. The ledger department will quickly show the record of the member and there will be no delay in helping the member to restore his health.

Our local officers and members will recollect that the convention had decided, not for the first time, to introduce a statistical department. The ledger department will be a beginning in his direction. Gradually we shall register on the ledger card or ledger leaf, as the case might be, all information regarding the member, his periods of unemployment and his earnings. Thus the International Union will have all information ready to hand at any time when it will be necessary to negotiate with manufacturers for a higher rate of pay, and it will not be necessary to wait for a protracted investigation.

These and similar practical questions occupied the attention of the General Executive Board at its second quarterly meeting in Philadelphia in its constant endeavor to bring the organization, as far as possible, to a more perfect condition.



Democracy in the Workshop as well as in Politics

A Suggestive and Thoughtful Labor Day Address to the Working Men and Working Women of America

By FRANK P. WALSH, Joint Chairman of the National War Labor Board

The present world war has provided the beginning of a splendid education in the real significance of democracy. Democracy has been our great fighting slogan and some of us have begun to analyze democracy and to find out what it means.

In this re-examination of the term the country has discovered one thing at least about democracy, namely—that it must mean more than old-fashioned political democracy. The old idea that when everybody votes you have a democracy is pretty well exploded. When one or two men, assisted by a Wall Street bank or two, can silently and secretly corner the steel supply of the world and obtain control over one after another of the basic materials of industry, as well as hundreds of thousands of workers in the factories, raising prices and manipulating markets at will, anyone who is honest knows that that is not what people mean when they talk about American democracy and volunteer to die for it.

When a labor man, convicted of a heinous crime by the use of the blackest perjury, can be blocked for two years in a nation-wide demand, voiced by the President of the United States himself, for a fair trial on honest evidence, the thinking citizen knows that this is not what the American people mean by democracy.

Control Over One's Job—Real Democracy

Democracy surely means that people shall control the conditions of their lives. And no one knows better than the trade unionist that the average wage-earner has had very little control over the conditions of his life, especially over that part of his life which is the core of all the rest—his job.

The wage-earner sees the purchasing power of his dollar dimin-

ishing. (It is worth about 65 cents compared with its value at the beginning of 1916). In other words, he sees his wage decreasing steadily, relentlessly, month after month, while his wife and children sink lower and lower in the scale of living. He asks his employer, let us say, to receive a committee representing himself and his fellow workmen to discuss the matter. He is told that the firm "doesn't employ committees" and won't deal with them. He suggests arbitration, and he is told there is "nothing to arbitrate." And the suspicion begins to take root in his mind that this is exactly the way he would be treated if he were a German subject appealing to the Kaiser for some political reform. He begins to understand that he is, in relation to his job, up against the very thing that makes Germany hideous—an autocracy.

Political Democracy and Industrial Despotism

The country is beginning to understand that we may have 100 per cent. democracy in the form of our political government and yet have autocracy of the most despotic type in industry. It is a fine thing to elect our representatives to legislative halls, but it is a more practical and useful thing to elect our own representatives in industry. It is a necessary thing to have a full share in the varied political activities of the community, state and nation; but it is infinitely more vital to have a compelling voice in the industrial policies under which we work every day in the year.

It is now clear to all understanding men, and especially to those who work for their living, that to attempt to control the conditions of one's life through the roundabout way of political oratory and legis-

tive action is futile, and that this old-fashioned attempted substitute for a direct and common-sense control through the workshop must be thrown into the scrap heap of pre-war absurdities.

Political Democracy is a Delusion Unless Built Upon and Guaranteed By a Free and Virile Industrial Democracy.

A New Industrial Dispensation

Now, just as the people of the country, under the searching criticism of war conditions, are becoming familiar with the idea of industrial democracy, so the industries of the country are becoming increasingly familiar with the new industrial dispensation. Under the National War Labor Board scores of industrial disputes have been settled in the last four months, involving in the aggregate hundreds of thousands of wage-earning men and women; and in every case where collective bargaining had been denied the workers heretofore, it has been installed by order of the Board.

In the Pittsfield, Mass., plant of the General Electric Company, for example, no form of group representation of the employees had ever been permitted by the company, and men were hired under an individual contract which in effect prohibited union membership. The Board ordered these contracts abolished, at the same time protecting the employees in their right to join the union of their trade. Further, the Board itself installed, through a representative, the machinery for collective bargaining in a form acceptable to the men—a form which they will make their own and improve upon in the future as their experience suggests. The system introduced provides not only for collective bargaining in the restricted sense, but also (what is still more important) for securing to the men a voice in the technical operation and day-to-day routine of the shop.

The Board ordered that "the election by the workers of their representative department committees to

present grievances and mediate with the company shall be held, during the life of this award, in some convenient public building in the neighborhood of the plant, to be selected by the examiner of this Board assigned to supervise the execution of this award, or, in the case of his absence, by some impartial person, a resident of Pittsfield, to be selected by such examiner. Such examiner or his substitute, shall preside over the first and all subsequent elections during the life of this award, and have the power to make the proper regulations to secure absolute fairness.

"The duties of the department committees shall be confined to the adjustment of disputes which the shop foremen and the division superintendents and the employees have been unable to adjust."

Democratic Machinery for Adjusting Disputes

And this scheme of democratic co-operation has been introduced by the War Labor Board in plant after plant where an autocrat has heretofore reigned supreme.

These department committees, together with the representative of the employer with whom they meet, might well be called the two houses of the local or state legislature of this new industrial democracy.

Here is the provision for the "Federal Congress":

"The Department committees shall meet annually and shall select from among their number three employees who shall be known as the committee on appeals. This committee shall meet with the management for the purpose of adjusting disputes which the department committees have failed to adjust."

In practice this committee on appeals will deal with many of the broader questions of policy which affect the shop as a whole. Perhaps this "federal legislature" might be better likened to the English Parliament, with its House of Commons representing the citizenry and its House of Lords representing vested

privilege, than to our American forums of legislation. But it is well here to remember that the English House of Lords recently lost its veto power over those measures most vitally affecting the welfare of the people.

Collective Bargaining Officially Proclaimed

The War Labor Board, by proclamation of the President, must institute collective bargaining in every case which comes under its jurisdiction, for its first principle reads:

"THE RIGHT OF WORKERS TO ORGANIZE IN TRADE UNIONS AND TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY THROUGH CHOSEN REPRESENTATIVES IS RECOGNIZED AND AFFIRMED. THIS RIGHT SHALL NOT BE DENIED, ABRIDGED,

OR INTERFERED WITH BY THE EMPLOYERS IN ANY MANNER WHATSOEVER."

Moreover, the Government does not wish the workers to be unrepresented; it realizes that the national welfare demands the common sense and economy, the collective loyalty and collective responsibility, which free collective bargaining insures. It does not wish to have industrial autocrats in this country who can say, Kaiser-like, to their employees: "What you wish does not concern me. I do not will it."

With your aggressive assistance I believe the process of democratization will continue until there will remain not one wage-earner in the country deprived of a full voice in determining the conditions of his job and consequently of his life.

Sept. 2nd, 1918.

Labor Day Reflections

The Two Features of this Year's Labor Day—Why the Trade Unions Now Receive Recognition—Urgent Preparation for Peace Times—Workers Should Not Permit the Return to Previous Conditions

By THE EDITOR

Labor day this year will be celebrated in grand style by organized labor of America in all industrial cities. Street parades and demonstrations will be a feature of the day. Two distinct notes are to be sounded in the celebrations: one is the official recognition bestowed on the trade unions this year even by the government itself and, as a result, by many industrial concerns which previously withheld recognition. The second note is the patriotic attitude of the organized workers and their effort to help win the war.

The official recognition is a significant step forward, inasmuch as only a few years ago a considerable section of public opinion evinced hate and uncharitableness towards the unions and imputed to them all

manner of crimes. It is only necessary to refer to the painful annoyances endured by the unions not only at the hands of the employers but others as well; namely, spies, strikebreakers, hired sluggers, police brutality, judges. Upon comparing the conditions of the past with the present almost peaceful state of affairs, as shown by the workers winning their demands without the annoying experiences of the past, we must arrive at the conclusion that the trade unions in America have made much progress.

True, the present favorable condition is due to the abnormal times in which we live. If not for the war, the trade unions would still suffer from disabilities. The present recognition has come mostly because

labor is in demand and laborers are scarce. It is the old law of supply and demand. When the labor market is glutted with more hands than industry requires, labor is apt to be cheap and the laboring man loses in value. Today, however, the necessity for labor is greater than the labor supply and for that reason the value of labor has increased and the laboring man has become an important factor. That means that labor must be secured at any price. But the question arises: What will be the state of affairs when peace is declared and the labor supply will be in excess of industry's demand—does not this involve the danger that in the event of an abundance of unemployment there would be a return to the previous depression and depreciation of labor?

In case of such unemployment such a danger would be present. But it rests with organized labor to prevent the danger and reduce it to a minimum. There must be preparedness. It is necessary to provide the remedy before the evil takes effect, if ever it should take effect; and in this respect Labor Day is fraught with meaning not only for the workers but for the entire nation.

Labor Day conveys the idea that Labor is the most important element in the community. Without labor no community can thrive. It is not necessary to prove the correctness of the idea. Those who are conducting the present war freely admit that without labor's effort in the shop and factory the war cannot be won. The war has prominently brought out the laborer's value. Thus Labor Day should inspire all workers with the determination that after the war society shall not return to the previous system of holding the worker in contempt and subjection, but rather holding in contempt all those who live in luxury on others' toil. After the war the workers must see to it that society shall be ordered on a basis of labor, giving the worker the major voice

in the government and entire control over their work and their lives.

But in order to direct social forces along this course the workers must realize the idea and be well organized for the purpose of placing their own forces at the head of the government when the favorable opportunity will arrive. This is the remedy to all the social evils from which we suffer today.

The trade union forces are growing. The wave of organization is extending. According to a statement by Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, in a brief Labor Day article below, the membership of organized Labor in America has reached the three million mark. That means a gain of about a million members in the last four or five years. But this and similar growth in numbers are not of great significance, if the trade unions will not effect a political combination with all the sympathetic elements, with all those who sympathize with the said idea and purpose.

The unsympathetic elements—all those who live by their mere possession of money or things of a money value, are already grinding their teeth in preparation for exploiting social needs for their own selfish purpose. They are already seeking fresh privileges to live from profit and interest. They are much bothered by the fact that the government has taken over certain industries and is conducting them for the good of the entire land. They are not much concerned at the present government ownership of those industries, because they get their profits all the same. What they are concerned about is that when peace comes the nation should not fail to hand the industries back into their hands, with all the enhanced values and earnings accruing as a result of the war, and they are already agitating for this on a wide scale. They point out the defects of government control, although their system of private control was not free from terrible defects.

Take, for instance, the railroads. A recent report of a strike of railway workers in Washington stated that the strike had cost the railway and electric company half a million dollars. Scab agencies and strike-breakers absorbed a large part of this big sum. In such and similar ways private enterprise squanders money which is in reality the fruit of labor. Every strike involves such wanton waste, more or less. Then there is the life of luxury and pleasure lead by the captains of industry and their families because existing laws permit them to profit at the cost of labor. They are eager to have these privileges perpetuated, and they will employ even discreditable means that society should continue the old order after the war.

This year's Labor Day on which American labor celebrates the progress attained and the recognition won, should induce the thought of the near future and the dangers looming in the distance. The financial magnates can only secure a return and extension of their unlimited and unchecked power if labor will be indifferent to the future, remaining only partly organized and separated from all those sympathetic sections of the community that can help in the attainment of labor's aim and ideal.

LABOR DAY, 1918

By FRANK MORRISON

Secretary, American Federation of Labor

When the comparatively few trade unionists of our various communities paraded on Labor Day, twenty-five years ago, their motives were questioned in many instances and newspapers gave them scant publicity.

This year, when the hosts of organized labor, now numbering 3,000,000 members, march in their "Win-the-War" parades, they will

be acclaimed by those who formerly even denied their purpose.

This changed public opinion has been gradual through constant agitation, education and organization, but it has been quickened in the past year because of organized labor's prompt acceptance of autocracy's challenge against democratic ideals.

Organized labor has not depended upon words to prove its patriotism. Its wholehearted support of the Government in the present crisis should be sufficient answer to any query on this subject. This support is of the kind that befits men and women imbued with our Republic's ideals and who realize that when a government, founded on these ideals, fails, the loss is an individual one for every American citizen worthy of the name.

Organized labor distinguishes between a government that rests on the whim of one man or a small group of men and a government of, by and for the people.

Our 1918 Labor Day celebrations will feature this difference between the two systems of government which are now struggling for the mastery. The thought behind these systems is older than any nation. In truth, nations are but an incident—but a process—in this struggle of human liberty and advancement versus the ancient theory of government so well illustrated by German Junkerdom.

Organized labor is not a peace movement. While we long for the day of industrial concord, when disputes between capitalists and laborers will no longer feature our industrial life, we refuse to paralyze our movement by surrendering the right to strike against wrong when other methods fail.

In a larger sense this theory is applicable to our Government when it calls for unity against an extension of those principles of autocracy which menace the majority-rule theory upon which our nation rests.

The National War Labor Board

The Industrial Court of the United States Which Settles Strikes and Adjusts Labor Conditions Throughout the Country. Its Program and the Men at the Head of It.

By A. ROSEBURY

Several months after the United States had declared war against Germany it became evident that in order to carry on the war with success across the sea it was necessary to place the various industries at home on such a basis as to prevent delay in production.

In the first few months there was a great delay. Almost in every industry producing for the war, serious strike outbreaks occurred. Manufacturers and their contractors seized the opportunity to coin money out of the war. Meanwhile the high cost of living was soaring upward, and the workers who were underpaid realized their distressful condition. Yet when they asked for an increase of pay their employers jumped and resisted. Naturally a series of strikes and lockouts occurred which hindered the government in its war projects.

The United States Department of Labor, with William B. Wilson at the head, soon saw not only the great problem but also the means of solving the problem. The Department always had a machinery for adjusting disputes amicably between capital and labor. William B. Wilson, the erstwhile secretary of the United Mine Workers, knew where to find the remedy for the evil of frequent and ugly strikes, and President Wilson backed his plans until the Secretary of Labor succeeded in perfecting a system in all affairs of labor and industry connected with the war.

There are two boards with similar names—the National War Labor Board, which is the subject of this article, and the War Labor Policies Board. These two boards should not be confused. Both handle war

labor affairs and both are under the supervision of Secretary of Labor Wilson, who is also War Labor Administrator by special appointment. Yet the two boards have separate functions.

The War Labor Policies Board devises plans and methods of exercising control over conditions of labor—wages, hours and welfare of the workers in the various industries producing for the army, the navy, aviation service, etc. The Department of Labor has been linking up all its activities with the various industrial boards, reducing them to one national system. It is now composed of eleven different service sections, comprising the most important war industries of the country and including agriculture, food production, fuel production, railroad labor administration and women labor. The chairman of the War Labor Policies Board is the well-known Prof. Felix Frankfurter of Harvard University, who formerly was assistant secretary to Secretary of War Baker. Professor Frankfurter derived considerable experience of labor matters when, on a recent mission to England and France, he had occasion to study the labor situation and the machinery established by the governments of those countries to deal with the labor problem. Previously he had been secretary and counsel to the President's Mediation Commission, which had investigated labor conditions in the Western and Middle Western States and adjusted serious disputes in the copper, oil and lumber industries and in the meat-packing industry of Chicago. But we are not dealing here exhaustively with the War Labor Policies Board, but

with the National War Labor Board, which has different functions.

The functions of the latter are judicial; it is more like a court of appeal. In all disputes between capital and labor in the war industries any one can apply to this Board for its intervention; and in any dispute in which the Board intervenes an effort is made to adjust the differences between both parties by conciliation or mediation. Failing in this, it assumes the function of a board of arbitration. An umpire is appointed, a hearing is ordered, witnesses are heard and a final decision is rendered which is binding on both parties.

The Board consists of twelve members, five representing the employers and five the organized workers. Two, the chairmen of the Board, represent the public; they are William H. Taft, ex-president of the United States, and Frank P. Walsh, who was chairman of the now historic Industrial Relations Commission. The selection of these two chairmen of the Board was a happy idea. Those who are more or less familiar with the history of the American labor movement during the last few years will remember that Taft was always a friend of the capitalists and the trusts, while Walsh, by the brave and fearless manner in which he conducted the investigations of the Industrial Relations Commission throughout the country and by the radical tone of the report subsequently presented by the Commission and published by Congress—Walsh showed himself a friend of the laboring people. It is remarkable how these two, differing as they must on social questions, work harmoniously together in the National War Labor Board. Only the desire to win the war could produce such harmony, and for that reason the Board soon won the confidence of both, capital and labor.

It was not all at once that the Board came into being. As already alluded to above, the Federal De-

partment of Labor began, as yet last year, to ponder the question of linking up the various government industrial boards and committees under one central administration in the Department. On January 16, 1918, the Department appointed an advisory council to assist in drafting a labor program. On January 28, the council submitted its report and plans; and when the Secretary of Labor approved the plan he called on the managing director of the National Conference Board—a federation of employers—and on President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor that they should each suggest five representatives of each side.

Then the Secretary of Labor called these ten representatives of both sides to a conference. It was his desire that the conference should itself agree on a program of harmonizing the relations between capital and labor for the period of the war, so as to put an end to the labor unrest and strikes impeding the output of the war industries. On March 29, the conference presented a report and recommended the formation of a National War Labor Board, which should take up labor troubles for adjustment.

On April 8, President Wilson issued a proclamation formally creating this Board, designating as its members the ten representatives present at the conference and approving of its chairmen named above and of the program agreed on by the conference.

There is one paragraph in the proclamation which should be emphasized; namely:

The national board shall refuse to take cognizance of a controversy between employer and workers in any field of industrial or other activity where there is by agreement or Federal law a means of settlement which has not been invoked.

Some of the provisions in the program, which we already cited in a previous issue of the "Ladies' Garment Worker," might be repeated, as showing that those who drafted

the program thought of the methods employed in the garment industries. First the Board endeavors to adjust a dispute by conciliation—bringing both parties together—or by mediation—sending an outside mediator of its own choice. If these voluntary methods fail, the Board appoints an umpire who after a hearing, renders a decision with which both parties must comply. It is provided that both

The Board in its mediating and conciliatory action, and the umpire in his consideration of the controversy, shall be governed by the following principles:

There should be no strikes or lockouts during the war.

1. The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever.

2. The right of employees to organize in associations or groups and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the workers in any manner whatsoever.

3. Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade unions, nor for legitimate trade union activities.

It is further provided that the workers shall not use any coercive measures to induce persons to join their organizations, nor to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith. The basic eight-hour day is recognized; equal pay for equal work is provided for women workers; and the concluding provisions of the program are that "in fixing wages, hours or other labor conditions, regard shall be had to the right of the workers, including common laborers, to a living wage, and that minimum rates of pay shall be established, which shall insure for the worker and his family a healthy life and reasonable comfort."

The Leading Spirit of the Board

Every organization has a leading spirit, and the leading spirit of the National War Labor Board is, un-

doubtedly, Frank P. Walsh. Walsh belongs to those who have their own original standpoint and his is the new, modern standpoint in human life and human relations, namely, that life cannot be encased in a framework of set principles and its course predetermined so that it should proceed according to an immutable plan.

Not long ago, Walsh expressed his point of view to a reporter of *The New York Call*, and referring to the work of the National War Labor Board, he said in substance:

To act in accordance with a set philosophy, means to be confined and narrow-minded, in other words, to be bound and unable to move. Those who have a philosophy waste time and effort in trying to be consistent. But life is like a film; its scenes moving and changing rapidly. Events shape and reshape themselves and the reactions are so changeful and inconsistent with each other that the man with a philosophy would carry mental bruises all the time. No man can be both consistent and truthful.

Conceptions on economics are purely mental and the point of view governs entirely. New knowledge gives new thoughts. Anyone who has studied economics—the question as to whether the wealth of the country is properly distributed among the various classes in society—must advance. Labor presents its cases to the board without attorneys as a rule, because they know more of what they are talking about than could be instilled into the average attorney in years. The employers are represented by counsel usually because they have handled the fundamentals of wages and working conditions through stewardships for years.

In the average court there is much formality. Everything there is as if cut to measure, pursuant to a cold, heartless plan. The Mooney case demonstrates this clearly. A man is handed over to the gallows, although the judge knows of the perjury in the case; but as the records of the trial do not mention the fact, the rule of the cold law is that the man must die. But in the National

War Labor Board, thanks to its leading spirit, Frank P. Walsh, there is no dead formality, even though it is an industrial court. The workers in coming before the Board have full freedom to prove the justice of their demands without court ceremonials, and they often get the upper hand over the trained advocates on the employers' side.

There can be no doubt that the labors of the erstwhile Industrial Relations Commission and its telling report to Congress prepared the way for the present government policy in regard to labor. The report opened the eyes of many indifferent wage-earners; for its facts reached the masses, even though they did not read the big volumes. And the facts were so pointed, so glaring that the capitalists and enemies of labor felt utterly confounded and could only say in reply that Walsh was a revolutionist and a dreamer.

Changed Tone of Employers' Spokesmen

Now, hostile manufacturers and their spokesmen have assumed a changed tone. This is probably due to pressure of public opinion in war time. It, however, seems to be certain that we cannot return to the practices of the past.

Walsh thinks that in the past few years public opinion as a whole has commenced to think differently on the labor question, otherwise capital and labor could not agree on having an industrial court of appeal to adjudicate on disputes. This opinion is confirmed when we note the opinion of the spokesman and legal adviser of the National Association of Manufacturers. At their recent convention Mr. Emery, who for years had pulled the wires in the lobby of Congress against the trade unions and projected labor legislation referred in his speech to the National War Labor Board and its program to this effect.

In England the government had entered into direct agreement with the organized trades to which the employers were not a party. The agreement was

subsequently embodied in the Munitions Acts adopted by Parliament in 1915 and 1916. The agreement was thus translated into law and had the force of public and legal authority.

The National War Labor Board is a body without legal authority. It can compel no man to remain at work, or submit his cause, or abide by its decision. It possesses nothing but moral authority. Its members appointed by organized labor represent a small minority of workers in the United States. But that, in these practical times, is merely an illustration of the fact that a highly organized minority is much more efficient than a highly unorganized majority. . . . The Board can only succeed when capital and labor will manifest towards it their good will. . . . Yet, if either labor through the representatives of their organizations, or the employers through their managers should attempt to be selfish or narrow, unwilling to subordinate their interest to that of the nation and delay the effort to secure uninterrupted production, the heavy hand of public opinion would fall upon the guilty party. They would be branded as worse criminals than those who are guilty of transgressing an actual law.

"So," continued the advocate of the unsympathetic manufacturers, "the very interesting and remarkable social experiment that we have undertaken illustrates what but few of us realize; namely, that we are not standing here waiting for reconstruction (of the social order); the reconstruction is going on, and we are in the midst of it. We cannot stand still while the world is in motion."

Walsh thinks that a method will grow out of the work of the Board that will be effective also after the war; otherwise chaos will prevail in the industry of the country. The present experience has opened everyone's eyes to the fact that so far, the minority in industry—the owners—have ruled with an iron hand. After the war, society as a whole will have a better conception of life; it will realize that life really lived is love and labor.

The American Labor Movement in the Present Crisis

By A. R.

In the present war time few war industries remain unorganized, and one of the most important of these is the steel industry.

A number of different international unions are interested in the organization of the steel and iron trades. For many years the large rich firms controlled almost entirely by the steel trust have, by every means at their disposal fought the organizing movement among their employees. Prior to the war, the workers in the factories, scattered in various places in Pennsylvania, had much to endure. Twelve hours a day for seven days a week and a miserable pittance was their portion in life. All factory gateways were strongly guarded, not so much in fear of German spies, as in fear of the union organizer. Since America entered the war these workers have received an increase once or twice; and what they failed to receive in cash they were promised in bonus. But the word "union" was taboo.

At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, President Gompers was instructed to call a conference of representatives of all unions in the iron and steel trades to arrange for a nation-wide organizing campaign against the steel trust. Sixteen international unions were represented at the conference, including the machinists, molders, metal miners, electrical workers, the Building Trades Council and the Chicago Federation of Labor. A national committee was formed, with President Gompers as chairman, and this committee will launch and take charge of the campaign. Offices will be opened in all important centers of the country, and a number of international unions have been invited to take a hand in the campaign.

In the meantime it is interesting to hear that the workers of the Bethlehem Steel Company, one of the largest factories in the country, have been placed in a much better position by the action

of the National War Labor Board thanks to the aggressive machinists and electrical workers.

In the works of this company a despotic system has always prevailed. But under pressure of war work the skilled workers grew restless and, either left for other work places or else were discharged. Official figures show that from May 31, 1917, to May 31, 1918, the company hired over 57,000 new employees, but that during the same period nearly 57,000 employees left their places or were discharged.

The company had an easy way with the restless workers, particularly those of the Machinists' Union. The Bethlehem Chief of Police had been appointed by a vice-president of the company, and he was also the city mayor. Whenever any worker manifested discontent he was simply removed from his place by a policeman, and subsequently he was alleged to be a member of the I. W. W.

Then the machinists and electrical workers went out on strike and sent committees to the manager. But the committee of the machinists was not received because it came openly in the name of the union. Meanwhile the strike spread causing a delay in the production of ammunition.

The government, through the War Labor Board immediately investigated the trouble, and it appeared that the company had subjected the machinists to persecution and sought to smash their union. At the hearing the evidence brought out the fact that the bonus promised to the workers was such an intricate fraud that in answer to questions the president of the company himself was unable to disentangle the details.

The War Labor Board put an end to the entire despotic system. It decided that in accord with the requirements of democracy the workers have a right to organize and bargain collectively, and the company must not prevent it. The Board abolished the bonus system and

introduced the eight-hour workday, time and a half for overtime and double pay for Sundays and holidays. It decided that committees of the workers, together with representatives of the firm and of the government shall revise the piece work prices, and that a board of mediation and conciliation, consisting of three representatives of the firm and three representatives of the workers, shall be formed to deal with workers' grievances. The steel trust in Bethlehem can no longer be a hindrance to the union movement.

AN AMERICAN LOCAL UNION IN FRANCE

In Denver, Col., something took place recently that ought to take a place in the permanent history of the United States and be printed in the history books to be read by the children who will know this war only by history.

The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has issued a charter to 130 men who are going to France as mining engineers in the United States Army. **A UNION GOING TO WAR AS A UNION!**

It is something to think about the world over and particularly in Germany.

No event has better demonstrated the spirit of the American working people than the ceremony of sending this union to war. True, it is only a small union, but it goes to France as a union, taking its charter and its due books. Its functioning as a union stops in the army, of course, but its spirit as a union—the spirit of American democracy—goes right into the fight in France.

The event deserves a permanent record in the history of Labor.

SOCIAL INSURANCE COMING SAYS SECRETARY M'ADOO

San Francisco, August.—William J. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury and director general of railroads, recently conferred with members of the California Health Insurance Commission and representatives of organized labor. Subsequently it was stated that Secretary McAdoo had said:

"There is no doubt about the principle of social insurance." We have substituted the justice of insurance for the

charity of pensions in the army. We shall undoubtedly come to a consideration of the whole field of social problems to which the principle of insurance can be applied.

"Workmen's compensation has already prepared the way," he added, "and this gigantic undertaking of the government for the protection of the soldiers and sailors and their dependents by insurance instead of pensions, is likely to lead us to a consideration of all the possibilities in social insurance as a means of protecting our workers."

It is interesting to recall the bill for social insurance introduced into Congress some time ago by Congressman Meyer London, and the strong opposition offered to the measure by conservative Congressmen.

A YEAR'S ACHIEVEMENT OF THE I. T. U.

Last month the International Typographical Union held its sixty-fourth convention in Scranton, Pa. Interesting are the reports of officers showing that 71.4 per cent. of all moneys paid into the treasury during the last fiscal year reverted to the membership as follows:

Mortuary benefits, \$312,426.27; strike benefits and special assistance, \$8,617.66; old age pensions, \$354,020; union printers' home \$150,862.44. Total, \$825,926.37.

The membership's gross earnings are estimated at more than \$71,000,000, an increase of \$5,100,000 over the preceding year.

THE FATE OF TOM MOONEY

The State Supreme Court of California has again rejected the request of Mooney's advocates for a new trial. The labor movement will not remain silent until there will be an end to the crying injustice in California. The demonstration in Washington at the end of July is clear evidence of labor's attitude.

Last month, at one of the largest mass meetings, ever held in San Francisco trade unionists again urged that a new trial be granted to the convicted man. The president of the California State Federation of Labor, in a characteristic address, said:

"We knew instinctively the moment we read Oxman's evidence that he was a rank perjurer. The glaring contradictions in the evidence in the Billings and Mooney cases impose a moral obligation upon us both as citizens of California and as trade unionists, to see that both these defendants get new and impartial trials. The President has been attacked and insulted for his action in demanding a new trial.

"The fair, square American way of settling the Mooney case is a new trial, and labor is determined that Mooney shall have that and the whole infamous frame-up exposed in open court."

A NEW "DANBURY" CASE IN WASHINGTON STATE

Information from Tacoma, Wash., states that the Durman Manufacturing Company has requested the superior court to order the Upholsterer's Union and the Timber Workers' Union to pay it \$20,000 damages.

Owing to war conditions, claims the company, these two unions have availed themselves of the opportunity to introduce a union shop and secure the employment of union labor. The company is aggrieved that the workers have thus succeeded in their effort to improve conditions.

PREPARE FOR HARDSHIPS

"The United States must prepare for hardships," is the warning of Bernard Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board. Mr. Baruch is possibly better acquainted with war's effect on industry than any other man in America.

"Up to this time," he says, "no man or woman has lacked for anything because of war conditions. It will be otherwise in the future. No one has any idea of the increased demand for military supplies unless he can check up on the flow of requisitions and estimates from the government through this department. And the problem is not alone one of fuel and steel and ordnance and ships; it includes clothing, shoes, foodstuffs—everything that man is accustomed to utilize for his comfort and living.

"Civilian requirements and the non-essential industries must yield to the needs of the military establishment.

There is but one important thing before us—to win the war."

BRITISH TRADE UNIONS GROWING

Official figures published recently in Great Britain in regard to the membership of trade unions, show that as yet at the end of 1916, they numbered 4,400,000. There can be no doubt about these figures, as they were given out by the government.

The trade unions there are registered under a special trade union act and every year they must present a report of their financial transactions and membership. The figures are from time to time compiled in a special statistical department called Registry of Friendly Societies.

The trade unions of women workers are growing, as well as the unions of men. Altogether, there were then 1,115 trade unions. In one year their membership increased as follows: Men, 127,555; women, 130,352. Growth of membership is mostly noticeable in the unions of railway workers. One of these—the National Union of Railwaymen—numbered at the end of 1917, 400,000 members. It should not be forgotten that the entire population of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales is about 40,000,000 souls.

100 I. W. W. MEMBERS FOUND GUILTY

Towards the end of last month a federal court in Chicago found 100 members of the Industrial Workers of the World guilty of activity against the war.

The trial was protracted for four and a half months, and a world of witnesses were heard. Some witnesses have adduced pointed facts, refuting the allegation of the prosecution and bringing out the good points of the accused and the good conduct of the I. W. W. organization in general. In view of that an acquittal was expected. The jury consulted only fifty-five minutes and the verdict "guilty" was a great surprise.

After the trial the secretary of the Defense Committee issued an official statement that Judge Landis had been very impartial to the accused, and that if necessary, an appeal will be taken to a higher court.

Among Our Locals

Jottings from Secretary Baroff's Report to the General Executive Board in Session at Philadelphia

RESULT OF THE CLEVELAND STRIKE

The result of the strike and our achievements in Cleveland can only be appreciated by those who have been in touch with the Cleveland situation for the last eight years. Cleveland was the Waterloo of our International Union. The manufacturers there have been very stubborn and determined not to recognize any organization of the workers or any outside group of individuals who would interfere with them. Great credit is due to President Schlesinger for the result of the Cleveland strike. Through his untiring efforts he was able to impress the authorities at Washington sufficiently to have them interfere and bring about the adjustment.

We may all congratulate ourselves on the result of our campaign in Cleveland.

WAIST AND DRESSMAKERS OF NEW YORK SECURE INCREASE OF WAGES

I attended conferences between the representatives of Local No. 25 and the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association, where the question of an increase for the workers in the industry was discussed. I am pleased to report that the following increases in wages have been secured:

Full-fledged cutters of Class 1, pressers and pattern graders, \$4.00 a week; full-fledged cutters of Class 2, \$3.50; cutters of Grade C and D, ironers (men), samplemakers and drapers, \$3.00; cutters, Grade B, \$2.50; cutters, Grade A, ironers (women), joiners, examiners and finishers, \$2.00; cleaners, Grades B and C, \$1.50; cleaners, Grade A, \$1.00. The rates of piece workers have been increased 10 per cent., effective July 29, 1918, while the increases for week workers went into effect on or about August 1, 1918.

RAINCOATMAKERS LOCAL 20

I have given up some of my time to Local No. 20 on several occasions. I attended a number of conferences with the managers of the Gas Mask Defense Plant, Mr. Richardson and Mr. Coonley, with reference to increases for the cementers in that shop. We had three conferences, but the question is not yet settled.

I installed the newly elected Executive Board and officers of Local No. 20. Their treasury is in pretty good shape now, except that for the last three or four weeks the majority of their members have been idle because of the investigation being conducted by the government in the raincoat shops, where army slickers are being made, on account of charges preferred against these manufacturers.

NEEDS OF THE CORSET WORKERS' INDUSTRY

Vice-President Wander has attended a meeting of the corset workers of New Haven. You will remember that at the last meeting before the convention, which took place in New Haven, the question of the corset industry was discussed, particularly as regards the cities of Bridgeport and New Haven. This is a very big field, and I am of the opinion that we could organize strong locals in this industry. We should take up the question of the corset workers in Bridgeport, New Haven and other corset centres, and we should decide to start a vigorous organizing campaign there. I am informed that the national office of the American Federation of Labor has again assigned Miss Marie Scully on the corset workers' territory. She is at present in Bridgeport and is waiting for us to cooperate with her.

CHICAGO LADIES' TAILORS

Our Local No. 71, Ladies' Tailors Union of Chicago, has amalgamated with the independent local of ladies' tailors. They have been granted a charter, and are now known as Local No. 104.

Our Local No. 52, Los Angeles, has organized the girls in the ladies' waist and dress industry, and a charter has been granted them as Local No. 103.

CLOAKMAKERS OF LOUISVILLE, KY.

The situation in Louisville, Ky., has undergone no change, as our attention has been directed undividedly to Cleveland. Brother Snyder, our Cincinnati manager, visited Louisville early in July, but advised the workers to abstain from forcing their demands on account of the preoccupation of the International Union in Cleveland. I believe that in justice to the cloakmakers of that city we ought to undertake to improve their conditions for the next season.

* * *

Our late Local No. 77, of Waterbury, Conn., has been called back to life. Vice-President Ninfo has been there twice to speak to the members. I have a communication from them, in which they state that they have worked out demands which they intend to send to their employers.

Our Local No. 75, of Worcester, Mass., has also been revived recently. While in Boston I made arrangements with Brother Hurwitz to be present at their meeting and inform me of situation there.

THE UNION SANITARIUM

Our last convention decided to build a sanitarium for its tubercular members. A committee was appointed at the first meeting of the General Executive Board, and at a meeting on June 7th, the committee came to the following conclusion:

1. That the General Executive Board inform the locals of the International to send in by the 1st of

August, twenty-five per cent. of the yearly assessment for all members.

2. That the first assessment of fifty cents, from July 1st to December 31st, 1918, should be regarded as a Building Fund, and until our sanitarium is built and ready to house inmates, a cash benefit of \$100.00 should be paid to members suffering from tuberculosis; these cash benefits to begin January 1st, 1919.

3. That the International locals endeavor to get a complete record of good standing members in the Union for the purpose of determining the number of members in each local and the amount of dues to be collected.

4. That tuberculosis benefit dues be collected beginning July 1st at the rate of 25c in advance for every three months.

5. That beginning July 1st, or as soon as possible, all locals not yet having health certification for their members, shall have their members examined by the Medical Division of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, or such agency as will be appointed by the Medical Division.

A hearing was subsequently held before the State Health Department, and we were granted permission by them to locate our Sanitarium at Mt. Hope.

I recommend that the General Executive Board should either refer the entire work to the New York members of the Board, or elect a special sanitarium committee which should go to work at once on the matter, collect money, and see that the sanitarium idea is realized in the near future. I want to emphasize the fact that within the next two weeks it will be necessary to complete the purchase of the sanitarium grounds for which it will be necessary to get \$12,000.00.

The convention went on record endorsing the organization of a statistical bureau as a department of the General Office. I have endeavored, after consulting a few persons whose advice seemed to me valuable, to get together some facts and

a general estimate of the scope, workings and maintenance of such a bureau. I herewith present a memorandum submitted to me by Dr. Frank F. Rosenblatt on this subject.

OUR AUDITING DEPARTMENT

Since our auditor Mr. Rabinovitch left us, I have placed the Auditing Department in the hands of our Mr. Wolf, and I am glad to report that the work which I have entrusted to him has been performed in a very able manner, and he has worked most faithfully.

The audits as a whole have been made more complete than formerly, and up to date (for the present quarter) every local in New York City has been audited.

You will recollect that in my report to the last convention, I recommended three regular men, on the auditing staff. I based my recommendation on the auditing work which was conducted by Mr. Rabinovitch. Since then I have found that Mr. Wolf, with the occasional

help of one man, can complete all New York City audits, and also the out of town audits for our locals.

The present quarter can be taken as an example.

During this quarter, Mr. Wolf has had, besides himself, just one man, who was employed for only five weeks, and all the New York locals have been audited. Besides that, I have directed Mr. Wolf to go to Cleveland and take care of the finances during the strike. He remained there two weeks. There still remains a month in this quarter for out of town local audits.

It should be brought to your notice, also, that we have had an actual saving in money in the Auditing Department, during this time, which amounts to seventy two dollars (\$72.00) per week.

In view of all this, I would recommend that we retain Mr. Wolf as head of our Auditing Department. I am convinced that with the ability, sincerity and faithfulness which he has displayed in the past, he will guarantee the efficiency of our Auditing Department.

Echoes from Far and Near

By FANNIA M. COEN

The Victory in Cleveland

"The Bastille has been taken at last!"

Thus was hailed President Schlesinger's announcement to the Cleveland strike committee of the proposal of the War Department to settle the Cleveland strike.

I shall never forget the scenes at the mass meeting after Brother Schlesinger read the conditions of the settlement.

One thousand people present hailed the settlement and expressed their joy in many languages. With eyes filled with tears the strikers greeted each other.

I confess, that the joy and satisfaction expressed by the strikers with the settlement and the results of Brother Schlesinger's efforts made me form a very high opinion

of our Cleveland brothers and sisters; for lately many had begun to believe that the Cleveland cloak industry would remain a shame and disgrace to the organized ladies' garment workers.

Many had arrived at the conclusion that the paternalism and benevolent autocracy that marked the relations of employers and workers in Cleveland demoralized the workers and killed in them every bit of dignity and appreciation of industrial democracy. Many ceased to see them as free citizens of a democracy, and lost every confidence in the possibility of getting the workers out on strike in case their demands were refused by the cloak manufacturers.

But as soon as the employers refused to pay any attention to the workers' demands, or discuss their

grievances and conditions before a committee of public-spirited citizens appointed by the Department of Labor, the workers acted as self-respecting, dignified and proud citizens and, to the amazement of their employers, walked out of the shops and declared a strike.

One must appreciate the efforts of the International for the last four years, and rejoice in the present satisfactory results.

To our victorious Cleveland sisters and brothers we say that not only does the big membership of our International Union heartily celebrate with you your victory, but that the entire labor movement of this country, which was interested in your strike, is sharing your joy.

The entire labor movement is watching your future actions and sincerely hopes that, as intelligent men and women, you will realize your responsibility to the labor movement and that you will, with devotion and idealism, begin to build a strong cloakmakers' union in the city of Cleveland.

I, for one, feel glad that Brother Perlstein has brought to a successful conclusion his four years of untiring work.

Baltimore Bargain House Gets Its Lesson

The owners of the Baltimore Bargain House, no doubt, realize now that there exists no distance for our International Union. They have surely found the strike of cloakmakers very costly and that the policy they pursued does not pay, financially or morally.

This, they must have learned from the resolutions passed by the Alleghany Suffrage Party. Copies of the resolutions were forwarded to them and also to the authorities of Cumberland, Md., where the strike was going on.

One cannot but praise the moral assistance given to the strikers by organized labor of that county.

The miners, railroad workers' unions, and every union in the coun-

ty, made this strike of the young women cloakmakers their own. In numerous resolutions they showed that the action of the management of the Baltimore Bargain House and of their Cumberland branch was condemned not only by organized labor, but by every honest citizen of the county.

Even the mediator of the Department of Labor, who tried to end the strike, could not but consider them unfair and undemocratic.

The lesson that the management of the Baltimore Bargain House got through this fight of the Baltimore Cloakmakers' Union, when they opened a shop in Cumberland and exploited about ninety young women, paying them starvation wages—this lesson should be a warning to every unfair employer.

Mention should be made of the assistance given by the Baltimore Cloakmakers' Union to their Cumberland fellow workers, American young women whom they have never met. Not only did the Union call out their members employed by the same firm in their Baltimore plant on a sympathy strike, but they also assessed themselves with 10 per cent. of their earnings and paid them strike benefit.

New Co-operative Undertaking of the Waistmakers' Unity Circle

For the last six months a movement has been going on among the members of the Unity Circle of the Waistmakers' Union Local No. 25, to open a co-operative house for residential purposes. After many efforts these women succeeded in creating a small fund to start with. As good union members they did not want to make any arrangements before receiving the indorsement of the plan by their local Executive Board, and as soon as the committee in charge succeeded in getting the indorsement and the assurance of moral support from their Executive Board, they got busy and secured the house in a very convenient location.

In this house live together on a co-operative basis, 40 young women members of Local No. 25. The necessary funds for the enterprise are raised by a sale of shares to their own members.

We all know that Local No. 25 is resourceful, possessing energy, intelligence, devotion and idealism. This if properly directed, and the fact that the local has more members than some international unions, makes us expect that many great things will be accomplished for the benefit of the 20,000 members to the credit of the labor movement as a whole, thereby raising the prestige of our organized women workers.

Sisters, we full-heartedly wish you success in your enterprise and assure you that it is being watched by thousands of friends and opponents. The former have great hopes and the latter may view it with scepticism. This should impress you with your great responsibility. We trust you will not disappoint the friends who believe in the possibility

of developing the co-operative movement within the trade union.

Educational Committee Starts on Its Work

Now that the Educational Committee has been appointed at the quarterly meeting of the G. E. B. held in Philadelphia, we may expect that before long the Educational Department of our International will begin to get busy. It is to be hoped that this season the country locals will be included in the plan of our committee. Therefore we would ask all the locals in the city as well as in the country to elect Educational Committees of three members, and communicate their names and the names of the officers to the general office.

With the co-operation of every intelligent member of our International we should be able to develop an educational system in our union which will be of a very great benefit to every member.

Sanitarium Idea Realized at Last

The Next Task is the Introduction of Regular Benefit Funds

By THE EDITOR

Two years ago all the active members of our International Union and many officials felt certain that we had our own ready sanitarium. It appeared, however, that the good people who donated the building and its few acres to our International Union for a sanitarium had no legal title thereto.

Thus the entire plan and all preparation had to be suspended. But the endeavor to realize the ideal was not abandoned. Dr. Price, director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, who had suggested the idea of a union sanitarium four years ago, continued his work of searching for a suitable place, and some locals of the New York Cloakmakers' Union, who have special funds for tuberculous members and who send such sick members to various sanitariums, continued to support Dr. Price and his plans.

Their effort has now been rewarded. The Union Sanitarium Association, formed at the end of 1916, took an option on a property and decided to build a union sanitarium. The association felt sure that as soon as the plan assumed a concrete form it would become popular and receive the general support of the union.

The union Sanitarium Association consisted mostly of representatives of the Cloakpressers' Union, Local 35; Cloakfinishers' Union, Local 9; and Skirtmakers' Union, Local 23. These locals have been for a long time interested in the plan of a union sanitarium. However, as is the habit of some locals in our union since many years, every local tries to act separately in its own interest, creating separate funds, a separate system of dues, separate systems of bookkeeping, separate organs, and so forth, and a stage was nearly

reached where the sanitarium institution also might have become a local affair exclusively for the Coakmakers of New York. As for the other locals, let them shift for themselves.

Fortunately the sanitarium idea could not be realized without two essential conditions: First, a large sum of money was needed to build and equip such an institution, and secondly, it is not so easy to maintain a sanitarium, unless it has the support of a much larger organization than the aforesaid locals. This shows that in practice, however good the conception of solidarity, it cannot be realized unless a positive need is felt.

It was generally perceived that if by the united action of three locals much can be done, considerably more can be achieved by the united action of an entire international union. Thus the sanitarium idea was bound to enlist the sympathy of the international union and all its locals.

It is true that even in 1916 the sanitarium project was in course of becoming more or less general and the International Union appropriated a large sum of money to promote it. But the plan was conducted on the voluntary principle. The locals should have felt the necessity of joining such a good undertaking as a union sanitarium, because under the present circumstances no worker and no young person is immune from bad colds and the ensuing complication of the proletarian disease. But they did not all feel it and they were free to remain outside of the sanitarium movement. It was then a question of contributing hundreds and thousands of dollars and of a promise by every local to maintain a certain number of beds in the sanitarium, and a number of locals were simply not in a position to make any definite pledges. Then, much agitation and publicity was required. This shows that voluntary enterprise in trade unions, apart from the difficulty of

launching them, can, in the long run, have no real success.

Therefore it was inevitable that the sanitarium idea should become a general union undertaking, and it is to be hoped that it will be the beginning of a larger movement to make the International Union the central point of all union activity relating to the welfare of the members throughout the country. The next step should be—the introduction of various benefit funds on a uniform system for the entire union, managed directly by the general office, similar to the system prevailing in many large unions of America and England.

That we have made considerable progress in this direction is evident from the following report to the convention by the Benefit and Sanitarium Committee. The convention decided to levy an assessment of \$1 a year on every member for the maintenance of the sanitarium.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BENEFITS AND SANITARIUM

The Committee you appointed on Benefits and Sanitarium is, according to our sincere opinion, called upon to devise plans for the introduction of such benefits for the members of our International which would bind it stronger together and which would give the opportunity to our organization to fulfill, even more completely, its mission and aim as the protector and guardian of the interests of our members, at all times and upon every occasion. We cannot too strongly emphasize our wish that death benefit and consumption relief, and even unemployment benefit, shall be introduced in our International Union. These funds, in order to be successfully conducted would have to be placed under the administration of the International Office.

It appears to us that every one of the Delegates to this convention fully realizes the sad condition in which the families of these members of our International who die are left without any means of assistance, and the fact that the General Executive Board has considered this proposition, indicates fully

that they are cognizant and mindful of this pressing need of our membership. But as the General Executive Board in its report did not submit full details as to the cost of the maintenance of such a fund and other information about the creation of such funds, we therefore recommend that the incoming General Executive Board make a thorough study of same and submit its findings to the next convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

We have received a resolution, No. 78, and have invited Brother Kazan, Secretary of Local No. 35, to give his views on this matter, and we have also had the benefit of the information given to us by Dr. George M. Price, who was present at one of our meetings. We were also informed by one of the introducers of this resolution that the Union Sanitarium Association have bought two hundred and fifty acres of land for the purpose of building a sanitarium and we have received the assurance of Dr. Price, based upon detailed statistical information, that \$1.00 per year per member would be sufficient to cover all the expenses connected with the maintenance of such a sanitarium for the membership of our International Union.

The Committee, therefore, recommends that the incoming General Executive Board shall immediately get all the necessary data relating to the maintenance of an International Sanitarium and shall also be empowered to levy an assessment of one dollar per annum upon all its members to keep up this institution. We recommend also that the present Executive Committee of the Sanitarium be placed under the full supervision of the General Executive Board and that this Committee, together with the Board, work out a complete and detailed plan for the running and management of this noble and highly useful institution.

Our Committee has received the following resolutions for consideration:

Resolution No. 78.

Introduced by M. Weiner, Local No. 3; Isadore Epstein, No. 10; Morris Sigman, No. 35; Abraham Baroff, No. 25; J. Halpern, No. 9; Isidore Schoenholtz, No. 25, and H. Wander, No. 23.

Whereas, Many of the members of the International Ladies' Garment

Workers' Union who fall victims to the proletarian disease, pulmonary consumption, are often unable to get proper medical and other care and are compelled to resort to private or public charity and to become a burden on the community, and

Whereas, Locals 35, 9, and 23 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have since several years successfully established benefit funds for their tuberculous members, and have given certain benefits and care to these members; and

Whereas, There are members of the different locals belonging to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union who are working in the same shops with the members who have such a tuberculosis fund, and are also affected with this disease, and

Whereas, Such affected members are liable to spread this dread disease to other members in the shops unless properly cared for, and

Whereas, Some local unions have established sick benefit and tuberculosis funds, and some have not, and it happens very often that members who pay for a length of time for these funds to their respective locals, lose the benefit of their payments when they transfer themselves to another local, and

Whereas, A certain number of locals belonging to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have organized the Union Sanitarium for Union members, be it

Resolved, That the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in convention assembled, does hereby establish a special tuberculosis fund, with the purpose of owning and maintaining its own sanitarium and of taking care of tuberculous members of the union.

The unanimous decision of the convention in regard to the sanitarium has now made possible the establishment of such an institution in the very near future. There was still considerable delay due to the State Health Department, which has the final say in such matters. The Sanitarium Committee felt sure of its plans, and Dr. Price, its medical director, took an option on a tract of land of four hundred acres in Mount

Hope, Orange County, New York. But the committee still lacked the permission of the State Health Department, which seemed to be in doubt as to whether the locality would not suffer through the projected sanitarium.

Last month the State Health Department held a hearing. Brother Ab. Baroff, general secretary of the International Union, Morris Hillquit, its legal adviser, and Dr. Price, represented our union at the hearing and explained to the Board the entire situation. Subsequently the Department gave its permission and granted a charter for building the sanitarium.

The realization of the sanitarium idea proves clearly that the most difficult enterprise can be carried out, provided there is unity and the will to overcome all difficulties.

CONGRESSMAN LONDON DEFINES HIS POSITION

This year the Twelfth Congressional district will witness a race struggle. As already noticed, the Republicans and Democrats combined to push out Meyer London. The candidate against him is the former Goldfogle, and his contentions against London are contentions against the Socialist Party and its attitude on the question of patriotism. London's friends and the electors of the district will know how to size up the kind of camouflage that will play a part in this year's election.

Thursday, August 21, the New York American printed the following statement by Congressman Meyer London:

LONDON'S STATEMENT

The very fact that the two political machines have combined against me furnishes an unanswerable argument in my favor. I have represented and represent now a definite school of thought, a well defined political philosophy. I am a Socialist. Tens of millions of men and women throughout the world believe in Socialism—in the doctrine that cooperation should replace competition in industry, and that cooperation among nations should replace international strife. There are at least one million Socialists

in the United States. To deny to this school of thought the opportunity to present its views, to deny it political expression, to stifle the voices of all those who seek a change, means to deny the elementary principle of representation.

The combination of two gangs of politicians to defeat me is nothing short of a political crime.

Stands on His Record

I am no rubber-stamp congressman. I am not afraid to speak my mind. I have not hesitated to vote alone and against all the rest when duty demanded it. I stand on my record. I have made my district known to Congress, and I have introduced Congress to the district by frequent reports to my constituents.

Protesting against existing and against attempted wrongs, I have never failed to point out the things that are beautiful in American life. I have never lost sight of the fact that America is the land of promise, and is worth fighting and dying for.

I worked and voted against every step which tended to lead this country to war. But I accepted without reservation the decision of the country. I wonder whether I am to be punished for having had the courage to vote against war or for standing by my country's decision when the country chose war?

Am I to be punished for presenting to the people of America the ideal of an international league to secure peace?

One Socialist in Congress

How strange! As the only Socialist in Congress, I was the interpreter in the House of Representatives of all that is broad and universal in President Wilson's international policies. Where others looked upon the suggestion of a league for a durable peace as a mere high-sounding phrase I took it to be the principal object of America's participation in the world's contest.

Am I to be repudiated because I have been fighting for social insurance, for freedom of speech and of the press, against mob violence, and for open diplomacy? Am I to be refused the chance to serve the people during the reconstruction period?

Am I wrong when I demand that every measure should be taken to secure

to the returning soldier an opportunity to live the life of a free man?

Shall I be prevented from urging public and democratic control of public utilities, the curbing of the profiteer, national enfranchisement of women, the limitation of the power of the courts to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional? Shall I no longer be able to plead for the poor and the helpless?

Or shall my political career be cut short because I have been more regular in attending the sessions of Congress than any New York City Democrat, and because I have probably attended more sessions of Congress than all the Tammany congressmen combined?

About the fusion candidate I do not care to say anything just now. He is an ordinary Tammany jade, a zero without a circumference.

For Public Ownership

I have urged that many of the public utilities be brought under public, governmental regulation and control, and Congress has now almost unanimously and very properly nationalized the railways, shipping and a large number of other essential and public industries.

I do not fear the result. I fully believe the East Side has awakened to the necessity of the hour, and will send me as a one hundred per cent. American to Congress.

LABOR AND THE FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN

By JOHN PRICE JONES,
Assistant Director of Publicity.

A great deal of nonsense has been written concerning the relations of labor and capital after the war. Optimists visualize conditions which not only are unlikely, but which, so far as labor is concerned, are not desired. Human nature does not change overnight, war or no war.

That labor conditions will improve, there can be little doubt on the part of those who have studied the recent trend of events. They will improve because organized labor will compel their improvement. Already the British Labor Party has out-

lined a programme indicating that radical measures will be taken, when peace is declared, to insure such improvement. It is interesting and significant to note that this programme aroused no storm of protest. It is universally recognized that concessions of considerable consequence to workers must be made.

Recognizing this fact, organized labor in the United States has shown the utmost willingness to allow the problems of tomorrow to go over until the new day. It has determined that the present shall be used to aid in the winning of the war, the loss of which would mean that all plans for the near future would be futile. This is a policy of patriotism, and at the same time one of enlightened self-interest.

For the moment labor has made many sacrifices. More are demanded almost at once, for in a few weeks the Government will offer a Fourth Liberty Loan. Now, more perhaps than on any previous occasion, large sums of money are needed. The foe is tottering, and the subscription of more than is asked by the authorities in Washington may be the means of hastening very appreciably the day when a permanent peace shall be secured, and labor shall begin to reap the full reward of its efforts.

Capital and the War

As time goes by, less and less is heard of the absurd argument that this is a capitalists' war. Labor leaders of standing in all parts of the United States have shown over and over again how ridiculous is this argument. But since it still persists in some quarters it is well that we should all fortify ourselves with the simple and convincing evidence of its puerile untruth.

Had the capitalists desired only to further their own interests and give themselves enlarged opportunity for the garnering of enormous profits, there would have been little chance of America entering the great conflict. If there is any question as to this, we have only to re-

member the prices that were being obtained by American manufacturers prior to the entrance of the United States into the war. The warring nations simply had to pay whatever was asked if they wanted goods, and wanted them (as they invariably did) in a hurry. The sky was the limit and it was never even suggested that the limit should be lowered. But our participation in the war changed all this in short order. The President was immediately vested with power to regulate prices and profits in a large number of industries, and in addition the income tax jumped, and excess-profits taxes took a big share of what remained.

No, this is not a war of the capitalists; it is labor's war. La-

bor has supplied the men, and it is from labor, purchasing war savings and thrift stamps and subscribing to Liberty Bonds, that the bulk of the money to carry the war to a successful end, is being obtained.

These are facts that should be remembered and reiterated when the Fourth Liberty Loan is floated within a few weeks. They should be borne steadily in mind by those of us who recognize them as we begin today to prepare for the campaign which is to bring nearer the collapse of the campaign in France.

(Editor's Note.—We feel that our people will be ready to support the Fourth Liberty Loan with even more zest and enthusiasm than they supported the Third Liberty Loan.)

Mother Love

By B. ROSEBURY

A Story from the Yiddish

We were gathered in the house of one of our friends, and, in the course of conversation, we somehow came to touch on the perennial subject of love and as to which sort of love was nobler and more disinterested. *Of course, some of us tacitly agreed* that the most beautiful and most sacred love is the love of a mother to her children, for whom she is ever ready to sacrifice her life.

One of the company, a venerable old man with a flowing white beard, who listened in silence to our conversation, suddenly rose and remarked:

"It is quite true that in all ages mother love has been made the subject of verse and song and acclaimed as greater than any other love. But I believe, my children, that you are making the same mistake as others before you."

The old man grew thoughtful for a moment, as he slowly resumed his seat, while his large forehead contracted into numerous wrinkles.

We knew him very well, and so none of us asked him to prove his

statement that we were in error. In strained expectancy we waited for his explanation, and soon he continued:

"You will perhaps say that one cannot dismiss as untrue an old, generally accepted maxim when it is contradicted by a passing experience. Well, let it be so, if you so desire. But I am old and have seen much in my life, and as you brought up the subject of the beautiful and noble sentiments which a mother feels to her child, I will tell you of an interesting personal experience.

"I once lived in the same house with a young married couple and was in the habit of visiting them frequently and spending many hours in their congenial company. They had a little boy on whom they bestowed their fondest attention. The mother spent all her time looking after his welfare, and once, when the child was sick the young mother did not leave his cot. She watched over her darling day and night until he recovered.

"Whether she was in or out of the house the boy was always with her. So far as I could observe, mother and child were never separated for any length of time; they were always together as two parts of one being.

"It was the most remarkable quality of affection I had ever noticed, and once I indulged in a question to her:

"Does it never occur to you that you are sacrificing too much for your child? Don't you sometimes regret being tied down to the house while other women of your age live a more enjoyable, a more social and interesting life?"

"The young woman eyed me with a smile and said:

"Let others do as they like, I cannot. They seek happiness outside the home, in society, in theaters, but I feel happy in my home around my child's cot."

"To tell you the truth," the old man continued, "I was touched to tears at such noble devotion, at such holy mother love.

"Needless to relate, the child grew up a healthy, well-built and joyous personality before my very eyes.

"Can you imagine the feeling of joyful pride thrilling that mother's heart when, for the first time, she sent her boy to school? No, words fail me to describe the exulting expression on the young mother's countenance, while she stood at her open window watching her son's departure into a new sphere of influence. Her breast was visibly heaving with emotion and tears filled her eyes when the boy disappeared from sight.

"But I also saw the same mother, many years later, when she stood in the courtyard with her manly-looking son in a soldier's uniform, bidding him the final farewell and imbuing him with courage.

"Show them, our enemies, what you can do for the land of our fathers!"

"She pressed his head to her bosom and passionately kissed his ruddy face.

"When he departed she turned to me and said with a genuinely happy smile:

"Isn't he a handsome and brave soldier?"

"Do you think I love him less now than before? By no means. But there are times when certain things must be done."

"She wiped a tear from her eye, which cast a shadow of doubt in my mind as to whether the mother was weeping for joy that her son was going to become a hero, or out of fear and anxiety that she might not see him again."

The old man grew pensive for a moment, and after clearing his throat and wiping the perspiration from his brow he continued in a low voice:

"For some time I didn't come in contact with the family, and then I happened to pass an artificial limb factory which attracted my attention. I approached the window and looked in. Imagine my surprise when I recognized the mother of my acquaintance. She was attired in mourning dress and was engaged in the fitting and finishing of a wooden leg, in fact, working in the factory alongside of many other women workers.

"I looked intently into her face, believing that upon recognizing me she would reveal profound sorrow and anguish. To my surprise, she came out to me and said cheerfully:

"You know, I received an iron cross soon after my son fell in battle." She took it off her neck and showed it to me with pride, saying:

"You see how brave he was!"

"I turned away my face and blurting out some excuse, hastily departed.

"You say 'mother love,'" the old man concluded—"well, that may be so, so long as you don't know of anything higher than that. But you see, that mother is by no means a solitary example, or an exception. This war, in particular, shows that love of country is even deeper than love of children."

LADIES' NECKWEAR CUTTERS ON STRIKE

The ladies' neckwear and novelty cutters, who for many years have been trying to organize the ladies' neckwear trade, went out on strike last month for an increase in wages and other union conditions.

The trade is busy and the employers are hit hard, although they are pretending that they can do without the cutters, to frighten the strikers into submission. The workers, however, are standing firm and determined not to resume work until their just demands are conceded.

Needless to say that the strikers have the sympathy of all our own local unions and the entire labor movement in New York City.

UNITY HOUSE VACATION A GREAT SUCCESS

Official papers of the Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers Union, Local No. 25, report that the Unity House enterprise this summer was a great success.

The house was situated on a high hill not far from the Hudson, and about one thousand members of the union enjoyed a pleasant vacation at moderate rates, for the house was conducted on a co-operative basis.

For three years now the summer Unity House has served the members of Local No. 25, binding the members together and rebounding to the credit of the union.

WOMEN CHIEFS UNITE

Washington.—The formation of an official all-women's council to deal with the problems of women workers is announced by Miss Mary Van Kleeck, director of the women-in-industry service of the department of labor. The council will include the women officials of each of the industrial service bureaus or divisions in the executive departments of the government. The purpose of the council, which is the first body of its kind dealing with women's labor problems, is to work out a program of protection for working women.

SCRUBWOMEN AWARDED \$10.50 PER WEEK

Washington.—New emphasis upon the case of the women workers and the principle of equal pay for equal work is given in the decision of the federal arbitrators, ex-President Taft and Frank P. Walsh of the National War Labor Board, in the award concerning the General

Electric Company and its employees, which was announced recently. For the Schenectady plant the minimum wage for women is fixed at \$15 per week, except for scrubwomen, whose minimum is to be \$10.50 per week with the present hours of service, which are 4 hours per day, beginning at 5 o'clock in the morning. Adult women in all classes of employment in the plant will receive an increase of 20 per cent, the same as the male employees, and in all cases where women perform the same work as men, they shall be paid the same.

The General Electric Company case was taken to the National War Labor Board by the striking employees of the plant about six weeks ago, and by agreement of the company and the workers, Messrs. Taft and Walsh were named as arbitrators. Their decision, consequently, stands as final without reference to the Board.

The minimum of \$10.50 for scrubwomen was fixed at the instance of Mr. Taft. The rate in force was \$5 per week. It was developed in the hearings that since the \$5 thus earned between 5 and 9 o'clock in the morning was by no means sufficient to live on, the scrubwomen had to work the rest of the day over the wash-tub. The decision of the arbitrators in this respect will undoubtedly be held to establish a precedent of far-reaching importance, for the Government itself pays less than \$8.75 per week for 6 hours per day to the charwomen employed in the executive departments at Washington, their work beginning at 7 o'clock in the morning.

The award of the arbitrators with reference to the Pittsfield plant of the General Electric Company grants a general increase of 20 per cent, as at Schenectady, with a minimum of 42 cents per hour for men and 30 cents per hour for women, with the provision that women performing the same work as men shall be paid the same.

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(Continued)

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42. Cleveland Cloak and Suit Cutters' Union.....	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
43. Worcester White Goods and Waist Workers.....	49 Harrison St., Worcester, Mass.
44. Chicago, Ill., Cloakmakers.....	1815 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.
46. Petticoat Workers' Union.....	22 W. 17th St., New York City
47. Denver, Colo., Ladies' Tailors.....	244 Champe St., Denver, Colo.
48. Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers' Union.....	231 E. 14th St., New York City
49. Boston Waistmakers.....	724 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
50. New York Children's Dressmakers.....	22 W. 17th St., New York City
51. Montreal, Canada, Custom Ladies' Tailors.....	387 City Hall Ave., Montreal, Can.
52. Los Angeles Ladies' Garment Workers.....	218 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal.
53. Philadelphia, Pa., Cloak Cutters.....	244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
54. Chicago Raincoat Makers.....	1145 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.
56. Boston Cloakmakers.....	751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
57. Cleveland Waist and Dressmakers.....	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
58. New York Waist Buttonhole Makers.....	80 E. 10th St., New York City
59. New Rochelle Ladies' Tailors.....	106 Union Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y.
60. Phila. Embroidery Workers.....	2126 N. 7th St., Phila., Pa.
61. Montreal, Canada, Cloak and Skirt Pressers.....	37 Prince Arthur E., Montreal, Can.
62. New York White Goods Workers.....	35 Second St., New York City
63. Cincinnati Cloakmakers.....	311 Odd Fellows Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio
64. New York Buttonhole Makers.....	112 W. 21st St., New York City
65. St. Louis Skirt, Waist & Dressmakers' Union.....	Fraternal Building, St. Louis, Mo.
66. New York Bonnaz Embroiderers.....	103 E. 11th St., New York City
67. Toledo Cloakmakers.....	813 George St., Toledo, Ohio
68. Hartford Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.....	16 Loomis St., Hartford, Conn.
69. Philadelphia Cloak Finishers.....	244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
70. Toronto Skirt and Dressmakers.....	208 Spadina Ave., Toronto, Canada
71. Chicago Ladies' Tailors.....	951 N. Hoyne Ave., Chicago, Ill.
72. Baltimore Dress and White Goods Workers.....	1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
73. Boston Amalgamated Cutters.....	751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
74. Vineland Cloakmakers' Union.....	H. Miller, 601 Landis Avenue
75. Worcester, Mass., Cloakmakers.....	26 Columbia St., Worcester, Mass.
76. Philadelphia Ladies' Tailors.....	505 Reed St., Philadelphia, Pa.
77. Waterbury Ladies' Garment Workers.....	270 N. Main St., Waterbury, Conn.
78. St. Louis Cloak Operators.....	Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.
80. Ladies' Tailors, Alteration and Special Order Workers.....	725 Lexington av., N. Y. C.
81. Chicago Cloak and Suit Cutters.....	909 N. Homan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
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85. Cincinnati Skirtmakers.....	411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio
86. St. John Ladies' Gar. Workers' Union.....	92 St. James St., St. John, N. B., Can.
90. Custom Dressmakers' Union.....	Forward B'ldg., 175 E. B'way, N. Y. City
92. Toronto, Canada, Cloak Pressers.....	110 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada
98. Cincinnati Skirt Pressers' Union.....	311 Odd Fellows Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio
100. Chicago Waist, Dress and White Goods Workers.....	1815 W. Division St., Chi., Ill.
101. Baltimore Ladies' Tailors.....	1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
102. Montreal, Canada, Raincoat Makers.....	1138 Clarke St., Montreal, Canada
105. St. Louis Ladies' Tailors.....	Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.
110. Baltimore Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union.....	1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
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